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643 Sushong Durgapur, of the place at the foot of the Garo Hills in
773 the Mymensing district, may be a corruption of the former. The Siems are supposed to be descended from a stag, possibly a relic of totemism in this family. In this State[7] there is a large
631 electoral durbar consisting of 2 *mantris*, 31 *lyngdohs*, 25
622 *sirdars*, 1 *lyngskor*, and 1 *basan*. The *lyndohs* are the heads of the priestly clans, by whom they are chosen. The sirdars of villages are appointed by the Siem in conjunction with the adult males of the different villages. There are two *lyngskors* and two *basans* in the State, but one *lyngskor* and one *basan* only at present are members of the *durbar* which
[634] nominates the Siem. A *lyngskor* is the Siem's agent for the purpose of governing a collection of villages. He is appointed by the Siem with the consent of the adult males of the villages
643 which he is to supervise. The Siem family of Nongkhlaw, or Khadsawphra, is believed to have been founded by a Synteng of the name of U Shajer, who left the Jowai hills with his sister, Ka Shaphlong, because she had failed to obtain her share of the family property in Jaintia. This man is said to have purchased certain lands in Bardwar in Kamrup. Apparently he did not obtain possession of this estate, for he came up into the Khasi Hills, and finding there certain villages without a ruler, he, at the wish of the *lyngdohs* of these villages, consolidated them into a state over which he ruled as a Siem. He was succeeded by his sister's son, U Syntiew, who further extended his territories until he obtained possession of other villages. U Syntiew is said to have delegated a portion of his powers to his two sisters, Ka Jem and Ka Sanglar, who ruled at Sohiong and Nongkhlaw respectively. Succeeding rulers
[726] further extended the Nongkhlaw territory. In 1829, U Tirut Singh rebelled against the East India Company and carried on for four years a successful guerilla warfare. He was finally captured, and was imprisoned for life by the British Govern-
643 ment. According to the statement of Raja Kine Singh, it would
631 seem that formerly the heads of five clans had the right to appoint
[614] the Siem, i.e. the heads of 3 *lyngdoh* clans and of the Jaid Dykhar, and Diengdoh clans. In the Cherra State the electors are the male adults of the State, who are represented on the State durbar by the *mantris* of the 12 aristocratic clans, known as the Khadar Kur, and certain representative elders.

[7] [i.e. the Nongstoin State --- Analyst]

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invocation. *U klong* is then made over to the judge (the Siem or the Sirdar as the case may be, &c.).

The person who undergoes the above ordeal wins the case, the production of evidence being unnecessary.

WAR.

Although the Khasis, unlike the Nagas, the Garos, the wild Was of Burma, the Dayaks of Borneo, and other head-hunting tribes, cannot be said to have indulged in head-hunting in ancient times, as far as we know, merely for the sake of collecting heads as trophies, there seems to be some reference to a custom of head-hunting in a description of the worship of the god *u Syngkai Bámon*, one of the principal gods of war amongst the Khasis. This god is described in one of the folk tales (I have obtained it through the kindness of Dr. Roberts, the Welsh missionary at Cherrapunji) as being the deity who gives the heads of the enemy to the successful warriors. To this god, as well as to *Ka Rám Shandi*, they offer a cock. Before sacrifice the warriors dance round an altar, upon which are placed a plume of cock's feathers (*u thuia*), a sword, a shield, a bow, an arrow, a quiver, *pán* leaves, and flowers. After the cock has been sacrificed, they fix its head on the point of a sword and shout three times. The fixing of the cock's head on the point of a sword is said to have been symbolical of the fixing of the human head of an enemy killed in battle, on the top of the *soh-lang* tree. Mr. Shadwell, of Cherrapunji, whose memory carries him back to the time when the British first occupied the Khasi Hills, has a recollection of a Khasi dance at Cherra, round an altar, upon which the heads of some *Dykhars*, or plains people, killed in a frontier raid had been placed. The Khasis used to sacrifice to a number of other gods also for success in battle. An interesting feature of the ancient combats between the people of different Siemships was the challenge. When the respective armies had arrived at a little distance from one another, they used to stop to hear each other shout the *'tien-Blei*, or challenge, to the other side. This custom was called *pyrta 'tien-Blei*, or shouting out the

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challenge. From the records available of the military operations of the Khasis against the British, the former appear to have relied principally on bows and arrows, ambushes and surprises, when they fought against us at the time of our first occupation of the hills. During the Jaintia rebellion firearms were used, to some extent, by the Syntengs. The military records do not, however, disclose any peculiar battle customs as having been prevalent amongst those hill people then. Both Khasis and Syntengs seem to have fought much in the same manner as other savage hill-men have fought against a foe armed with superior weapons.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

The Thlen Superstition.

There is a superstition among the Khasis concerning a *thlen*, a gigantic snake which requires to be appeased by the sacrifice of human victims, and for whose sake murders have even in fairly recent times been committed. The following account, the substance of which appeared in the *Assam Gazette*, in August, 1882, but to which considerable additions have been made, will illustrate this interesting superstition:—"The tradition is that there was once in a cave near Cherrapunji,* a gigantic snake, or *thlen*, who committed great havoc among men and animals. At last one man, bolder than his fellows, took with him a herd of goats, and set himself down by the cave, and offered them one by one to the *thlen*. By degrees the monster became friendly, and learnt to open his mouth at a word from the man, to receive the lump of flesh which was then thrown in. When confidence was thoroughly established, the man, acting under the advice of a god called *U Suid-noh*,† (who has as his abode a grove near Sohrarim),

* This cave is at Pomdalai, some five miles west of Cherrapunji, close to a great waterfall called *Noh Ka Likai*, i.e. the place where Ka Likai jumped down the precipice (for a full account of this story see Section V. of the monograph), where there is a large block of stone, with some cuts over it, known as *Dain Thlen*, i.e. the snake cutting (place).

† In another account it is said to have been U Suid-noh himself who did this.

1903-28: 2; Bareh 1962.] **Demography.** According to the 1951 census of India, the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District contained 221,982 Khasis and 67,532 Syntengs, Pnars, and Jaintias (India [Republic] 1952-57). These figures, together with those for Khasis enumerated in Cachar (4,005), Mikir and North Cachar Hills (467), Lakhimpur (287), Sibsagar (276), and Darrang (211) districts, and those for Syntengs enumerated in Mikir and North Cachar District (464), yield a total of 295,224 Khasis. **History and cultural relations.** Khasis believe that they had supernatural origin in Khasi Hills (see Gait 1926: 260 for historical evidence, and Rafy 1920: 8-9 for myth, but see also Costa 1958, 1960; Gurdon 1907: 10-11; and Chatterji 1953: 12). Khasi tradition also states that in early times they moved gradually from east to west, from Jaintia toward Khasi Hills, in the practice of swidden agriculture (Gatphoh 1947: 97-98). The salient fact of known Khasi history, which begins generally in the mid-sixteenth century A.D. when there already existed the present-day 25 native Khasi chiefdoms, is the distinctive line of development followed by the separate kingdom of Jaintia. To the north, Jaintia was successively tributary, in part or in whole, to the Kachari kingdom (ca. 1230 A.D.), the Koch kingdom (strongest ca. 1560 A.D.), and the Ahom kingdom (strongest ca. 1700 A.D.) (Shakespear 1914: Map I). To the south, about 1500 A.D., Jaintia extended its rule over a tract of Sylhet, which was populated by Hindus and Muslims, and saw its kings fall thereafter under Brahman influence. In the early 1800s, Jaintia became involved in the fratricidal strife then prevalent in the ruling family of Manipur. In 1835, after the Jaintia king ignored British warnings not to seize British subjects for human sacrifice, Jaintia was punished by the British annexation of the Jaintia parganas in Sylhet. The Jaintia king then voluntarily turned over to the British the hills area of his domain, so that the whole of Jaintia became part of British India and, in 1860, came to be taxed as such, although the Jaintias were otherwise allowed to maintain their traditional system of village government. • By contrast, the remaining Khasi states had few formal external relations until British times. Khasis raided and traded in both the Brahmaputra and Sylhet valleys, but were basically turned inward on their own hills, where warfare between villages and between the states was apparently common. Khasis came into indirect relation with the British in 1765, when Sylhet and its markets became part of British India. In the 1790s, stepped-up Khasi raids into Sylhet caused the British to throw up a deterring line of forts along the foothills. Later, it became necessary to place an embargo on Khasi products in the Sylhet markets. In 1827, the British penetrated into western Khasi Hills by negotiating with the Khasi chief of Nongkhlaw State to build a road through his territory, linking the recently annexed Brahmaputra valley with Calcutta. For three decades

000 161 563 173 [113] [113] 175 619 648 175 619 648 726 • [439] [487]

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi–Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1926; Aitchison 1931; Bhuyan 1949; Morris 1910.]

175 619 648 [726]• [651] [177] 177 648 [244] [439] [134] [797] [428] [635] [633] [167] [563] [423] [873] 648 642 [651] [563] [113]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. **Settlement pattern.** Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

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burning the dead in the immediate neighbourhood of the village of Jowái. Suspicions of insurrection arose during the months of October and November 1861. In the beginning of January 1862 alarming reports were received from various quarters, and the first serious outbreak occurred on the 17th of that month. This was occasioned by the interference of a *dárogá*, or native police official, with a religious ceremony that took place at the village of Jalong. In such ceremonies dancing with arms is held essential; and the *dárogá* took upon himself to disarm the dancers. This was the signal for a general rising. The *thánd* or police station at Jowái was burned to the ground; the garrison of sepoys was besieged, and all show of British authority was swept away throughout the Hills. The Syntengs fought bravely for their independence, and at first were successful in cutting off several small detachments of police and sepoys. Their weapons were bows and arrows. In common with the other hill tribes of the North-East Frontier, their chief defence consisted in a series of strong stockades, one behind another; and the paths leading to their villages were thickly planted with *panjis*, or little bamboo spikes, stuck in the ground like caltrops. The battalion of sepoys stationed in the Hills was rendered inefficient by sickness. At last it was found necessary to move a regular army, including an elephant battery and two regiments of Sikhs, into the country in order to quell the revolt. Colonel Dunsford was in chief command. He was accompanied by Major Haughton, the Governor-General's Agent on the North-East Frontier, and Captain Morton, the Deputy-Commissioner of the Khási and Jáintiá Hills, who acted in a political capacity. The operations were tedious and harassing. The rebel chiefs were captured one by one, and the District was declared to be finally pacified in March 1863, after the rebellion had lasted for fifteen months. The special Commission appointed under Act xi. of 1857, for the trial of offenders in the Jáintiá Hills, was dissolved in December 1863. The causes of the rebellion were thus summed up by Major Haughton in an official despatch to the Government of Bengal:—

'Taxation was introduced without the supervision with which such a measure should have been accompanied. It was followed up by fresh taxation and rumours of other taxes, also by fiscal and other innovations, which tended to disturb the minds of the people, without any counterpoise such as might have resulted from the continued presence of a European officer.' The Syntengs, like the